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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

"GEORGE ROSE, *the Friend of the People*."—From a Report of a debate in the House of Commons, on the 3d instant, it appears that Mr. Whitbread made the following observations, in presenting a petition from his own constituents, the people of BEDFORD, against the CORN BILL, "Mr. Whitbread said, he had to present a petition from Bedford, signed by 4500 householders, which signatures had been all collected in two days, against the Corn Bill. He had hitherto been silent on this question; but he at this time thought, that the inflamed state of the public mind, which arose, perhaps, from the long time during which the measure had been pending in the House, should induce the House to put off the final consideration of it for the present Session. There was a very extraordinary leaning of the public mind against the Bill, and this, whether erroneous, as he supposed it to be, or just, should have its weight with the House. In this strange state of things, the Right Hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Rose), who had always been esteemed a loyal man, had been called for the first time in his life a factious demagogue. Nay, he (Mr. W.) had seen written on the walls, '*Rose the friend of the people*'—[a laugh.] A friend of his, who had sometimes been deemed factious, was now accused of endeavouring to starve the people; threatening letters had been sent on all sides, and what was more he, himself (Mr. Whitbread), had been threatened to be hanged for holding his tongue—[much laughing.] He was a friend to the Bill, as a grower and consumer; but he thought that two or three fine days in the present season would have more effect on the corn market than any Acts the Legislature could pass. Notwithstanding his opinion in favour of the Bill he thought it would be most politic to postpone it, because if there happened to be a bad harvest in the present year, and the price of corn was consequently to be raised, this effect would be attributed to the duty on import-

"ed corn."—It is very odd that these opinions, respecting the effect of the Bill, did not occur to Mr. Whitbread before. They did to me from the out-set. I always said, that it was the *season*; the *crop*, that must (taxes and currency continuing the same) regulate the price. I knew, and I foretold, that the Bill, in case of *future high prices*, (which must come if the taxes and paper-money remain), would give that false direction to the public mind, of which Mr. Whitbread speaks. The Bill would have had a sort of mental effect, favourable to low price of corn upon an average. For it would have encouraged the ignorant farmer to sow; and, as ninety-nine out of every hundred are of that description, it would in that way, have had an extensive effect. Mind, I do not mean to say, that the farmers in general are ignorant men; but, that they are, and without any imputation against their understandings, generally ignorant as to those causes, which produce cheapness and dearness. If the bill be not passed, as I hope it will not, the farmers will sow very sparingly. They will keep less horses and men. They will drain and clear less. Capital, in short, will begin to be looking another way. The consequence will be, that, in case of bad crops, or bad harvests, the scarcity will be greater, and the price higher upon an average of years, than if the bill had been passed.—But, what care I about this compared to the political effect of the Bill? What is to be put in competition with the people's thinking rightly as to the causes of their sufferings? What a lamentable thing would it have been to see Mr. Coke regarded as the cause of the people's suffering, while those who had fattened upon the taxes raised out of his estate were regarded as the people's friends!—Those who have brought forward the Bill had the support of the government, and yet, the farmers now bear all the reproach. The Government is happy in having an organ, who says little. The part for the landholders to act was that of letting the thing work. Leaving the Government to carry the Bill through, or not, just as it

pleased. If I had been one of them, in Parliament, I should not, however, have been *silent*. I should have told the people the real state of the case; how my land was taxed; what deduction the Government made from my rent; and how impossible it was for me to lower my rents, without a proportionate diminution of my taxes. I should have told the people, that if the Bill did tend to keep up the price of corn, its advantage would be to the Government and the fundholder, and not to me; and, I should clearly have shewn them, that the average high prices of late years, are to be ascribed to the *taxes* and the *currency*; and, of course, that I was not one of those to be blamed, unless I had *shared in the taxes*.—If Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Coke, and other great landholders had done this in their places in the House, the former would not now have had to express his vexation at seeing George Rose called "*the friend of the people*."—I shewed it in my last, but I will shew it again here, that the *average* high price of corn is occasioned by the *taxes* and the *paper money*. I say the *average* observed, because the difference in price between one year and another, is occasioned by the difference in the quantity and quality of the crop.—During the last peace, from 1783 to 1792 inclusive, the average price of the quarter loaf was 7d. During the war, that has just been happily put an end to, the average price of the same loaf has been about 14d.—During the former period, the annual taxes raised in the country amounted to about 14 millions; during the latter period, to about forty millions. The currency of 1792 was 21s. to a guinea. It has of late years been 27s. to a guinea. Can there be any doubt as to the real causes, then, of the average rise in the price of corn?—Those who *eat the loaf* must pay the tax upon the land, and upon all the things used in its cultivation. It is well known, that the tax upon beer, salt, sugar, soap, candles, quack medicines, &c. is paid by the consumer. And must it not be the same with *bread*? Paper, for instance, was about 25s. a ream. A tax of two or three shillings was added to the old tax. Paper rose two or three shillings a ream immediately; and, who was fool enough, to lay the blame upon the paper-maker, or the stationer? This *Register*, for another instance, pays a tax of 31d. but the tax is paid *finally* by the reader, and not by the printer. The tax on

land, horses, leather, iron, wood, hemp, &c. &c. paid back to the farmer by those who eat the loaf. Take off his land tax, property tax, horse tax, dog tax, window tax, gig tax, iron tax, wood tax, leather tax, soap tax, candle tax, salt tax, pepper tax, sugar tax, malt tax, house tax, painted cloth tax, and a hundred others that I cannot recollect. Take off all these from him, and put them, at once, fairly upon the loaf itself, so that people may see how the thing is, and he will not need more than about thirty shillings for a quarter of wheat. But, if he must still pay them all, they must be paid back to him again; and, if they continue at their present amount, he must, upon an average of years, have one hundred shillings a quarter for his wheat, that price being necessary to enable him to pay the taxes.—This being so clear and indisputable, it follows, of course, that the increase of the taxes is the *cause* of the average high price of corn and of the loaf; and that, if any body is to be *blamed* for this high price, it must be *those who have occasioned the increase of the taxes*. Now, certainly, one of these is this very George Rose, who has, from 1792 to the present moment, been writing pamphlets (for it is a pamphleteer that I now consider him) to urge the continuance of war, and to justify the expenditure of public money and the imposition of taxes. Yet, he is called the *friend of the people*, while Mr. Coke is called their enemy! George Rose and his family are become *rich out of the taxes*. They have been, for many years, *sinicure placemen* and active *placemen* too. They have received immense sums out of the taxes imposed since 1792. Consequently *they* have helped to make corn high-priced; because the taxes are, in great part, drawn from the land. The taxes which they have received have helped to make *bread dear*. What they now receive, in various ways, out of the taxes, still helps to keep up the price of bread. And yet, George Rose is called the friend of the people!—He and his family contend, that they have received no more than their services merited. Let us, for argument's sake, grant them the assertion. But that does not alter the case. They have still helped to make bread dear. And, if they tell us, as he did once before, in a pamphlet, that we had to choose between paying enormous taxes, and losing "*the blessed comforts of religion*," it comes to this, at last, that, having had to decide, whether we would



preserve those blessed comforts, at the expence of dear bread, or lose the blessed comforts; and, having made the former choice, we have no right to grumble at paying for dear bread, since, by the means of a long and bloody war, we have preserved the blessed comforts.—Thus, then, it comes home to the mass of the nation. The nation has suffered the war to go on; taxes were necessary to the war; and the high price of bread is necessary to the taxes. But the thing lies deeper yet. The *blame*, if any, is to be imputed to the want of a *Reform in the Parliament*. It was the want of that reform which occasioned the enormous taxes. The taxes have produced the high price of bread. We now see explained in practice what Sir Francis Burdett said of those lords and country gentlemen, who spent their time at agricultural meetings and cattle-shows. He told them, that while they thought of doing good in that way, they neglected the true means of making the people happy. We now see them reproached with those very high prices, which have been rendered indispensable by the taxes, which they so readily permitted to be imposed. While their favourite pursuits received no check, they joined in reviling every one who disapproved of the system; and now they must console themselves as they can for the natural consequences of their conduct. So long as the farmer flourished, they seemed to care very little about the burdens of the war. They were amongst the forwardest to support taxes. But a state of things having arrived, in which, as they think, their full share of the taxes will fall upon them, not perceiving how it fell upon them before, they begin to discover *symptoms of feeling*. This is good; and it may encourage us to hope, that they will extend their feeling to *others* by-and-bye—For my part, I have, I think, now done with this discussion. I shall be glad to see the Bill dropped, and so I leave it. But before I conclude, I cannot help expressing my pleasure at seeing, that the *City of Westminster* has taken no part in this silly clamour. That good sense, which has always distinguished that city, has made its inhabitants perceive that this was a subject beneath the notice of men, who set a proper value upon their rights; who consider the dictates of the mere belly as unworthy of being listened to. This their conduct shows, that they are good judges of the subjects that ought to engage their attention. **TAXES, and the CAUSE**

and **EFFECTS** of taxes, are fit objects of inquiry and discussion with the *City of Westminster*. To others they leave the babbling about petty regulations, and the spreading of false and ridiculous notions, and the exciting of prejudices and passions, tending to injure the cause of freedom, by ascribing public calamity and distress to causes other than the true one, which, if once rightly understood, and constantly kept before the public mind, could not fail to produce that *reform*, without which no event will ever make this country what it formerly was.

TREATY OF PEACE.—Peace is, at last, made with France; and **FRANCE**, after all her toils, is *at peace*. I wish I could say the same of our own country; but the day of *her* peace is, I fear, far distant yet.—The *terms* of the Peace will be best gathered from the document itself, a copy of which I have given below. But, it is material to observe, that the terms are very honourable to France. She retains the territories which the National Assembly took from the Pope, and which were always a thorn in her side. She keeps an extensive tract, not formerly hers. She rounds her territory, and strengthens her defence against Belgium and Germany. She keeps all the precious spoil, which the Republicans took from the galleries in Belgium and Italy. She pays back no requisitions. She *gains* the loss of three Colonies; and, as if we had been resolved that she should not ruin herself in means as well as morals by a connection with the East Indies, she is to have no fortifications in that corrupting country. It would have been better for her if she had had no Colonies at all of any sort. She ought now to bend her attention to the settlement of her Government at home; to the cultivation of her soil upon the best principles; to the revival and introduction of useful manufactures; to the supplying of herself with all necessary articles; and to the establishing of a system of defence against her enemies, which will not endanger her own liberties; for *liberties*, it appears, she really is to have. Major Cartwright's work on National Defence, which makes *representation* and *arms-bearing* go hand in hand, would be very useful to her law-givers. Those who have *rights* to enjoy, ought to *defend* the country in which they have such enjoyment. Every man who has a vote in the choosing of representatives, ought to have

arms ready for the defence of the country. "*Arms in the hands of freemen*," is the only safe defence of nations. Every man, who is a friend to freedom, must feel uncommonly anxious as to what will now be done in France. He must be extremely anxious to see the French nation enjoying prosperity and tranquillity, under a free and wise Government, because it is now that we are to see *what has been produced* by that grand Revolution, which has so long agitated the world. We are now to see what is the change which that event will have effected. We are now to see whether the *example* of France be, or be not, worth following by any enslaved and humbugged nation. We shall now, very soon, be able to draw a correct comparison between the state of France *before* the Revolution and *after* the Revolution. And, what is equally important, we shall be able to see what difference there is in OUR situation since the French Revolution began.—What will now be said by those malignant men, who, through the *Times* and *Courier* newspapers, pressed it upon the Allies not to leave a *statue* or a *picture* at Paris. Who urged them, tooth and nail, to compel the King of France to disband all his regular army; to keep back the French prisoners of war until he agreed to such terms? What will the malicious wretches say now? Why, they do say nothing. They receive the treaty with a sort of sulky reserve. They talk about the *generosity* of the Allies. The Allies could not do otherwise than they have done. If the Allies had attempted to extort degrading terms from France, they would have had no peace at all. The French nation is too great in itself to admit of any such terms. The Allied Sovereigns on the Continent stand in some fear of each other. France does, and always will, hold the balance of Europe in her hands. Any one power joined with her must be more than a match for all the rest of Europe. The same cannot be said of any other two powers. Therefore, it has been *no act of generosity* on the part of the Allies. It has been an act of expediency, and, indeed, of *necessity*. If they, with their bayonets in France, had joined together, and insisted upon degrading terms, the king would have been overthrown very soon by the people; and the *lava*, as Pitt called it, would have burst forth again. But each of the Powers had its own private interests to take care of,

and this interest would not allow them to do that which our malignant writers wished them to do. The treaty, or rather treaties, have been the result of calculations of interest, and have proceeded from no sentiment of generosity.—Well, now; how comes peace to US?—It has been stated in the newspapers, that the news of the signature of the Treaty was received at Lloyd's Coffee-House with a sort of half-suppressed murmur! There is *no Treaty of Commerce!* Peace to us is not what it is to France. It gives us no hope of a reduction of taxes, while it opens the sea to all the world. Other nations will now enjoy each its share of commerce. A new and large *loan* accompanies our peace; while other nations, freed of their debts, offer security for that moveable property, of which England has so long been the sole *depot*. The weight of our taxes, bearing so heavily on the people of fixed income, or not partaking in the gains of trade and labour, will induce them to seek abroad those enjoyments, which they cannot have here. A person, who has no business by which to *g. a*, knowing that he can live as well for a hundred pounds a year in France as he can here for four hundred pounds a year, will feel a strong desire to get rid of his present state. All this is felt now, and will be felt more and more daily; and, as this description of persons withdraw themselves from their share of the burden of our taxes, that burden must fall the heavier on those of us who remain. A man having funded property in England, pays to the Government ten pounds out of every hundred pounds of interest annually. In France he would pay nothing out of the hundred. Will he not seek to remove that property? Besides the dearness of living, occasioned by the taxes, is quite a sufficient inducement; and, as there is not only no prospect of any considerable part of the taxes being taken off, but a certainty that they *cannot*, must not the consequence be an alarming emigration? If, indeed, we could return to *old prices*; if we could come back to the *seven-penny loaf* of 1792, before Pitt's war against the French Republicans began; if we could shake off the taxes, or reduce them to fourteen millions a year; then people would stay at home, as they did before the French Revolution; but to this state we cannot return, as long as the interest shall continue to be paid upon the National Debt.—. Just as I was finishing the last sentence, the newspaper,

containing Mr. Huskisson's speech of Monday last, on the CORN BILL, came in from the post-office. That speech, of which, perhaps, we have but a faint sketch, does the speaker great honour. Not on account of its originality, for I had said the same thing in the two or three preceding Registers, and especially in that of last Saturday; but, on account of its *manliness*. Mr. Huskisson is the only man, who, as far as I have observed, has had the sense to discern, and the courage to state in plain terms, the truth of the case. His speech appertains to the subject, upon which I am writing; for its truths are amongst those which are felt as to the effects of *peace*; as to our *prospects* in peace; as to the *disappointment* of the people; it came, at once, home to my notions about *old prices*.—I shall insert it here; for I look upon it as singularly valuable.—“Mr. Huskisson said, every subject alluded to by the Honourable Gentleman would, as the motion was shaped, come before the Committee; for the first reference to that Committee was that of all the Petitions on the Table on the subject of the Corn Laws. In some of these Petitions the freedom of trade was surely introduced. He hoped, therefore, that the Honourable Gentleman would give his vote for the Committee. He would state the reasons why he supported the present motion for a Committee, though he objected to the appointment of a Committee on a former occasion. He believed now, as he did then, that there was no probability of any importation of Corn into this country, before the next harvest. The only circumstances which varied his view, was that of the number of Petitions which had been presented to the House. The views of these Petitioners, even if founded in misrepresentation, although they ought not to induce any Member to do that which he was not convinced was just and proper, were still entitled to the most respectful consideration of the House. Although the Petitions were in many instances the result of malevolent and mistaken appeals to the feelings of the people, they ought to be met by temperate inquiry and the fullest investigation. The circumstance of such a number of Petitions, therefore, afforded a ground for those who were favourable to the measure, to support the present inquiry; for the object of these Petitions was not to make any alteration in the Corn Laws, or to make

“no alteration in them without further inquiry. With respect to the encouragement which ought to be afforded to the farmer, it should be considered, that there was now a *great diminution in the value of money*; and that the capital necessary for carrying on of farming operations, must now be double to what it was before the war. The Noble Lord (Lord A. Hamilton) *deceived himself*, therefore, if he thought, that things could return to what they were before the war. This was one of the most dangerous errors which could be entertained. What was like to be the permanent charge of this country, now that the war was at an end? The whole expences of this country, including all our establishments before the war, only amounted to 16 millions. He could not anticipate what part of our present establishments would be now kept up; but whatever they might be, he believed that our peace establishment must entail on us a permanent charge of nearer 60 than 50 millions. Would this produce no alteration in the money value of articles? When Gentlemen talked of the increased price of bread, was not every thing else raised in proportion, and that not in consequence of the high price of bread, but the amount of taxation? It was impossible for the country to return to the prices before the war. It had been said that the obvious remedy was to lower the rents. He had not the good fortune to be a landholder, and he had no interest but that of the public in general in view. The proportion of the gross proceed of land, which now came to the landlord, however it might be represented in money, was now much less than what it was in 1792. Previous to the war, in a farm of moderate extent, the farmer considered himself requited if he made three rents from it. But it was necessary, in the case of such a farm now, that the farmer should make at least five rents to be enabled to go on. If even the whole rental of the country were remitted, it would be impossible to return to the prices before the war. He was not afraid to declare that the people of this country must not expect, be the law on the subject what it may, that, with our burthens, the price of bread can ever be LESS THAN DOUBLE TO WHAT IT WAS BEFORE THE WAR.”—There, my worthy neighbours of Southampton! There is comfort for you! Are

you now satisfied Mr. Grant, of Portsmouth, the "down corn down horn" orator? You, perhaps, did not believe me; but you will pay some attention to Mr. Huskisson, who must know something about what our *peace taxes* will be.—The thing is so plain, that is impossible that many members of the House should not have viewed it in the same light. It is impossible that they should not have seen it thus; but, except Mr. Huskisson, no one has plainly said what it was necessary to say. What I most wonder at is, that Mr. Coke should expose himself to be hanged in effigy on such an account.—Mr. Huskisson, however, seems to think, that the Bill, if it had passed [it is thrown out], would have *done good to the grower of wheat*. Here I differ from him. I grant that it *se*fect, though in a very small degree, would have been to cause *more corn to be grown in the country*; to prevent *great fluctuations*; to prevent the *slothful and improvident* farmer from being ruined in certain cases; to make his trade a more *steady and uniform* thing. But what is all this to the calling generally? I have very well considered the tendencies of the proposed Bill; I am deeply interested in what is generally supposed to have been the object of it; in short, I have a great deal of wheat to sell, and wish to sell it for as much as I can get. And yet, I sincerely declare, that I think it will be *a good to me*, that the Bill did *not pass*.—If I am right, then, how wrong must my good neighbours of Southampton be? and how erroneous the sentiments of those numerous petitions, which the belly has belched forth upon this occasion!—To return to the subject of *peace* as it affects England, we now see that there are others besides myself, who say that the *seven-penny loaf* can not return; that our taxes must continue, and that the high prices must continue along with them, *upon an average of years*. These truths, though not acknowledged, are *felt*; and hence it is, that with a Definitive Treaty of Peace on the tables of Parliament, *the public funds do not rise a single fraction*! This is what never was known before, since the system of funding began; and the reason is, that peace never before found the nation in so burdened a state. While the war lasted, men were blind to every thing but the events and chances of the war. The nation seems to have agreed to shut its eyes to consequences. A vague sort of hope existed, that *peace* would bring things back to the

state of 1792. Peace can no more do that, than it can bring my hair back to the colour of 1792, unless it can first bring back the taxes and the currency to the amount and the value of 1792.—This truth, though the reason on which it is founded, is, perhaps, seen clearly by few fundholders, is felt by them all. As cattle and sheep are guided by instinct to provide against the inclemency of the weather, and, in other respects, to take care of their health and their lives; so there is about man a sort of instinct, which guides him in the care of his interests, to which, generally speaking, he is, without knowing why, as true as the dial to the sun. The loan, about to be made, may have had some effect in depressing the funds; but still they would have risen *something* in price, had it not been for the circumstances, of which I have been speaking.

TREATY OF PEACE.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST HOLY AND UNDIVIDED TRINITY.

His Majesty the King of France and Navarre on the one part, and his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and his Allies on the other, being animated by an equal wish to put an end to the long agitations of Europe, and to the calamities of nations, by a solid Peace, founded on a just distribution of force between the Powers, and containing in its stipulations the guarantee of its duration; and his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and his Allies, no longer wishing to exact from France at the present moment, when being replaced under the paternal government of her Kings, she thus offers to Europe a pledge of security and stability, conditions and guarantees which they had to demand with regret under her late Government; their said Majesties have appointed Plenipotentiaries to discuss, conclude, and sign a treaty of peace and friendship; that is to say:—His Majesty the King of France and Navarre, M. Charles Maurice Talleyrand Perigord, Prince of Benevento, Grand Eagle of the Legion of Honour, Grand Cross of the Order of Leopold of Austria, Knight of the Order of St. Andrew of Russia, of the Orders of the Black and Red Eagle of Prussia, &c. his Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; and his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, M. M. Prince Clement Wenceslas Lothaire, of Metternich Win-

neburgh Ochsenhausen, Knight of the Golden Fleece, Grand Cross of the Order of St. Stephen, Grand Eagle of the Legion of Honour, Knight of the Russian Orders of St. Andrew, St. Alexander Neusky, and St. Anne, of the 1st class, Knight Grand Cross of the Prussian Orders of the Black and Red Eagle, Grand Cross of the Order of St. Joseph of Wurtzburgh, Knight of the Order of St. Hubert of Bavaria, of that of the Gold Eagle of Wurtemberg, and of many others; Chamberlain, actual Privy Councillor, Minister of State, of Conferences, and for Foreign Affairs, of his Imperial, Royal, and Apostolic Majesty; and Count John Phillipe de Stadion Thannhausen and Warthausen, Knight of the Golden Fleece, Grand Cross of the Order of St. Stephen, Knight of the Russian Orders of St. Andrew, St. Alexander Neusky, and St. Anne of the 1st class, Grand Cross of the Prussian Orders of the Black and Red Eagle, Chamberlain, Privy Councillor, Minister of State and Conferences to his Imperial, Royal, and Apostolic Majesty; who, after exchanging their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed upon the following Articles:

Article I. There shall be, reckoning from this date, peace and friendship between his Majesty the King of France and Navarre, on the one part, and his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and his Allies, on the other part, their heirs and successors, their respective States and subjects in perpetuity. — The high contracting parties shall apply all their cares to maintain, not only between themselves, but also as far as depends on them between all the States of Europe, the good agreement and understanding so necessary to its repose.

Article II. The Kingdom of France preserves the integrity of its limits, such as they existed at the period of the 1st of Jan. 1792. It shall receive besides an augmentation of territory comprised within the line of demarkation fixed by the following article: —

Art. III. On the side of Belgium, Germany, and Italy, the ancient frontier, such as it existed on the 1st Jan. 1792, shall be re-established, the same commencing from the North Sea, between Dunkirk and Newport, even unto the Mediterranean between Cagnes and Nice, with the following ratifications: —

1. In the Department of Jemappes, the Canton of Dour Verbes-le-chateau, Beaumont and Châmay, shall remain to France the line of demarkation, where it touches the Canton of Dour, shall pass between that Canton and those of Boussu and Paturage, as well as, farther on, between that of Morhes-le-Chateau, and those of Binch and Thuin.

2. In the Department of the Sambre and Meuse, the Cantons of Valcourt, Florennes, Beaving, and Gedume, shall belong to France; the demarkation, upon reaching this department, shall follow the line which separates the fore-mentioned Cantons, from the department of Jemappes, and from the rest of that of the Sambre and Meuse.

3. In the Department of the Moselle, the new demarkation where it differs from the old, shall

be formed by a line to be drawn from Perle as far as Fremorsdorf, or by that which separates the Canton of Tholey, from the rest of the department of the Moselle.

4. In the Department of the Sarre, the Cantons of Saarbruck and Arnwal shall remain to France, as well as that part of the Canton of Lebach, which is situated to the South of a line to be drawn along the confines of the villages of Heerenbach, Uebechsen, Hilsbach, and Hall (leaving these different places, without the French frontier) to the point where, taken from Querselle, (which belongs to France) the line which separates the Cantons of Arnwal and Orlweiler, reaches that which separates those of Arnwal and Lebach; the frontier on this side shall be formed by the line above marked out, and then by that which separates the Canton of Arnwal from that of Bliescastel.

5. The fortress of Landau having, prior to the year 1792, formed an insulated point in Germany, France retains beyond her frontiers a part of the departments of Mont Tonnerre and the Lower Rhine, in order to join the fortress of Landau and its district to the rest of the kingdom. The new demarkation proceeding from the point where, at Ouersteinbach (which remains without the French frontier), the frontier enters the department of the Moselle, and that of Mont Tonnerre, joins the department of the Lower Rhine, shall follow the line which separates the Cantons of Weissenburgh and Bergzabern (on the side of France) from the Cantons of Pirmasens, Dalm, and Anweiler, (on the side of Germany) to the point where these limits, near the village of Wohnersheim, touch the ancient district of the fortress of Landau. Of this district, which remains as it was in 1792, the new frontier shall follow the arm of the river Queich, which, in leaving this district near Queichheim (which rests with France), passes near the villages of Merlenheim, Knittelsheim, and Beiheim (also remaining French) to the Rhine, which thence continues the boundary between France and Germany. As to the Rhine, the Thalveg, or course of the river, shall form the boundary; the changes, however, which may occur in the course of the river, shall have no effect on the property of the isles which are found there. The possession of these isles shall be replaced under the same form as at the period of the Treaty of Lunéville.

6. In the Department of the Doubs, the frontiers shall be drawn so as to commence above La Ranconniere, near the Loell, and follow the crest of the Jura between Cerneux Pequignot and the village of Fontenelles, so far as that summit of the Jura which lies about seven or eight miles to the north-west of the village of La Brevine, where it will turn back within the ancient limits of France.

7. In the Department of the Lemán, the frontiers between the French territory, the Pais de Vaud, and the different portions of the territory of Geneva (which shall make a part of Switzerland), remain as they were before the incorporation of Geneva with France. But the Canton of Frangy, that of St. Julien (with exception of that part lying to the north of a line to be drawn from the point where the river of La Laitre enters near Chancey into the Genevese territory, along the borders of Sesseguin, Laconex, and Seseneuve, which shall remain without the limits of France), the Canton of Regnier (with exception of that portion which lies eastward of a line following the borders of the Muraz, Bussy, Pers, and Cornier, which shall be without the French limits), and the Canton of La Roche (with exception of the places named La Roche and Armanay, with their districts), shall rest with France. The frontier shall fol-

low the limits of those different Cantons, and the lines separating those portions which France retains from those which she gives up.

8. In the Department of Mont Blanc, France shall obtain the Subprefecture of Chambéry (with exception of the Cantons de l'Hospital, St. Pierre d'Abigny, La Rocette and Montmelian), the Subprefecture of Annecy, with exception of that part of the Canton of Faverges, situated to the east of a line passing between Ourechaise and Marilen on the French side, and Marthod and Ugine on the opposite side, and which then follows the crest of the mountains to the frontier of the Canton of Thones. This line, with the limits of the aforementioned Cantons, shall constitute the new frontier on this side.—On the side of the Pyrenees, the frontiers remain as they were between the two kingdoms of France and Spain, on the 1st of January, 1792. There shall be appointed on the part of both, a mutual Commission to arrange their final demarkation.—France renounces all claims of sovereignty, supremacy, and possession over all countries, districts, towns and places whatsoever, situated without the above stated frontier. The principality of Monaco is replaced in the same situation as on the 1st of January, 1792.—The Allied Courts assure to France the possession of the principality of Avignon, the Venaissin, the county of Montbailard, and all the inclosed districts once belonging to Germany, comprised within the above indicated frontier, which had been incorporated with France before or after the 1st of January, 1792.—The Powers preserve mutually the full right to fortify whatever point of their States they may judge fitting for their safety.—To avoid all injury to private property, and to protect on the most liberal principles the possessions of individuals domiciliated on the frontier, there shall be named by each of the States adjoining France, Commissioners, to proceed jointly with French Commissioners, to the demarkation of their respective boundaries. So soon as the office of these Commissioners shall be completed, instruments shall be drawn up, signed by them, and posts erected to mark the mutual limits.

Art. IV. To secure the communications of the town of Geneva with the other parts of the Swiss territory on the Lake, France consents that the roads by Versoy shall be common to the two countries. The respective Governments will have an amicable understanding on the means of preventing smuggling, the regulation of the posts, and the maintenance of the roads.

Art. V. The navigation of the Rhine, from the point where it becomes navigable to the sea and back, shall be free, so as to be interdicted to no person. Principles shall be laid down at a future Congress, for the collection of the duties by the States of the Banks, in the manner most equal and favourable to the commerce of all nations. It shall be also enquired and ascertained at the same Congress, in what mode, for the purposes of more facile communication, and rendering nations continually less strangers to each other, this disposition may be extended to all rivers, that in their navigable course separate or reverse different States.

Art. VI. Holland, placed under the sovereignty of the House of Orange, shall receive an increase of territory. The title, and the exercise of its sovereignty, cannot, under any circumstance, belong to a Prince wearing or designated to wear a foreign crown.—The German States shall be independent, and united by a federative league.—Independent Switzerland shall continue under its own Government. Italy, without the limits of the countries which shall return to Austria, shall be composed of Sovereign States.

Art. VII. The Island of Malta and its depen-

dencies shall belong, in full possession and sovereignty, to his Britannic Majesty.

Art. VIII. His Britannic Majesty, stipulating for himself and his Allies, engages to restore to his Most Christian Majesty, within periods afterwards to be fixed, the Colonies, Fisheries, Factories, and Establishments of every kind which France possessed on the 1st of January, 1792, in the seas, or on the continents of America, Africa, and Asia, with the exception, nevertheless, of the islands of Tobago, St. Lucia, and the Isle of France and its dependencies, namely Rodrigue and the Sechelles, all which his most Christian Majesty cedes in full property and sovereignty to his Britannic Majesty, as also that part of St. Domingo ceded to France by the Peace of Basle, and which his most Christian Majesty retrocedes to his Catholic Majesty, in full property and sovereignty.

Art. IX. His Majesty the King of Sweden and Norway, in consequence of arrangements entered into with his Allies, and for the execution of the preceding Article, consents that the island of Guadeloupe be restored to his Most Christian Majesty, and cedes all the rights which he might have to that island.

Art. X. His most Faithful Majesty, in consequence of arrangements entered into with his Allies, engages to restore to his Most Christian Majesty, without a period hereafter fixed, French Guyana, such as it was on the 1st Jan. 1792. The effect of the above stipulation being to revive the dispute existing at that period as to limits, it is agreed that the said dispute should be terminated by an amicable arrangement, under the mediation of his Britannic Majesty.

Art. XI. The fortresses and forts existing in the colonies to be restored to his Most Christian Majesty, in virtue of Articles VIII. IX. and X. shall be given up in the state in which they shall be at the time of the signature of the present treaty.

Art. XII. His Britannic Majesty engages to cause the subjects of his Most Christian Majesty to enjoy, in regard to commerce, and the security of their persons and properties, within the limits of the British Sovereignty on the Continent of India, the same facilities, privileges, and protection, which are at present granted to the most favoured nations. On this side, his Most Christian Majesty having nothing more at heart than the perpetuity of the peace between the two Crowns of France and England, and wishing to contribute, as much as in him lies, to remove henceforward such points of contract between the two nations as might one day alter a good mutual understanding, engages not to erect any work of fortification in the establishments to be restored to him, and which are situated within the limits of British sovereignty on the Continent of India, and to place in those establishments only the number of troops necessary for the maintenance of the police.

Art. XIII. As to the French right of fishery on the grand bank of Newfoundland, on the coasts of the isle of that name and the adjacent isles, and in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, every thing shall be restored to the same footing as in 1792.

Art. XIV. The colonies, factories, and establishments to be restored to his Most Christian Majesty by his Britannic Majesty or his Allies, shall be given up, viz. those in the seas of the North, or in the seas and on the Continents of America and Africa, within three months, and those beyond the Cape of Good Hope within six months after the ratification of the present treaty.

Art. XV. The high contracting parties having reserved to themselves by the 4th Article of the Convention of April 23, the regulation in the

present Definitive Treaty of Peace, of the fate of the arsenals and vessels of war, armed and not armed, which are in maritime fortresses, surrendered by France in execution of Art. II. of the said Convention, it is agreed that the said vessels and ships of war, armed and not armed, as also the naval artillery, the naval stores, and all the materials of construction and armament, shall be divided between France and the country where the fortresses are situated, in the proportion of two-thirds to France, and one-third to the powers to whom such fortresses shall appertain. The vessels and ships which are building, and which shall not be ready for launching in six weeks after the present treaty, shall be considered as materials, and as such divided in the proportion above assigned, after being taken to pieces. Commissioners shall be mutually appointed to arrange the division, and draw up a statement thereof, and passports shall be given by the Allied Powers, to secure the return to France of the French workmen, seamen, and agents. The vessels and arsenals existing in the maritime fortresses which shall have fallen into the power of the Allies anterior to the 29th of April, are not included in the above stipulations, nor the vessels and arsenals which belonged to Holland, and in particular the Texel fleet. The French Government binds itself to withdraw, or cause to be sold, all that shall belong to it by the above stated stipulation, within the period of three months after the division has been effected. In future, the Port of Antwerp shall be solely a port of Commerce.

Art. XVI. The high contracting parties wishing to place and cause to be placed in entire oblivion the divisions which have agitated Europe, declare and promise, that in the countries restored and ceded by the present treaty, no individual of whatever class or condition shall be persecuted, harassed, or disturbed in his person or property, under any pretext, or for his attachment either to any of the contracting parties, or to Governments which have ceased to exist, or from any other cause, unless for debts contracted to individuals, or for acts posterior to the present treaty.

Art. XVII. In all the countries which may or shall change masters, as well in virtue of the present treaty, as of arrangements to be made in consequence thereof, the inhabitants, both natives and foreigners, of whatever class or condition, shall be allowed a space of six years, reckoning from the exchange of the ratifications, in order to dispose, if they think proper, of their property, whether acquired before or during the present war, and to retire to whatever country they please.

Art. XVIII. The Allied Powers, wishing to give his most Christian Majesty a new proof of their desire to cause to disappear as much as lies in their power, the consequences of the period of calamity so happily terminated by the present peace, renounce, in toto, the sums which the Government had to re-demand of France, by reason of any contracts, supplies, or advances whatsoever, made to the French Government in the different wars which have taken place since 1792. His most Christian Majesty, on his side, renounces every claim which he might make on the Allied Powers on similar grounds. In execution of this Article, the high contracting parties engage mutually to give up all titles, bonds, and documents relating to debts which they have reciprocally renounced.

Art. XIX. The French Government engages to cause to be liquidated and paid all sums which it shall find itself bound in duty to pay in countries beyond its territories, in virtue of contracts or other formal engagements entered into between individuals or private establishments,

and the French authorities, both for supplies and legal obligations.

Art. XX. The High Contracting Powers, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, will appoint Commissioners to regulate and estimate the execution of the whole of the measures contained in Articles XVIII. and XIX. These Commissioners shall employ themselves in the examination of the claims mentioned in the preceding Article, of the liquidation of the sums claimed, and of the mode which the French Government shall propose for paying them. They shall also be charged with the giving up of the titles, obligations, and documents relative to the debts which the high contracting powers mutually renounce, in such way, that the ratification of the result of their labours shall complete this reciprocal renunciation.

Art. XXI. The debts specially hypothecated in their origin on the countries which cease to belong to France, or contracted for their internal administration, shall remain a charge on these same countries. An account shall in consequence be kept for the French Government, commencing with the 22d December, 1813, of such of those debts as have been converted into inscriptions in the great book of the public debt of France. The titles of all such as have not been prepared for the inscription, nor have been yet inscribed, shall be given up to the Governments of the respective countries. Statements of all these debts shall be drawn up by a mixed commission.

Art. XXII. The French Government, on its side, shall remain charged with the repayment of the sums paid by the subjects of the above-mentioned countries into the French chests, whether under the head of cautionments, deposits, or consignments. In like manner French subjects, servants of the said countries, who have paid sums under the head of cautionments, deposits, or consignments, into their respective treasuries, shall be faithfully reimbursed.

Art. XXIII. The titulars of places subjected to cautionment, who have not the handling of the money, shall be repaid with interest, until the full payment at Paris, by bills and annually, commencing from the date of the present Treaty. — With regard to those who are accountable, the payment shall take place, at the latest, six months after the presentation of their accounts, the case of malversation alone excepted. A copy of the last account shall be transmitted to the Government of their country to serve it for information, and as a starting point.

Art. XXIV. The judicial deposits and consignments, made into the chest of the sinking fund in execution of the law of the 28th Nivose, year 13 (18th of January 1805), and which belong to the inhabitants of the countries which France ceases to possess, shall be restored within a year, dating from the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, into the hands of the authorities of the said countries, with the exception of such deposits and consignments as French subjects are interested in; in which case, they shall remain in the chest of the sinking fund, not to be restored but on proofs resulting from the decisions of the competent authorities.

Art. XXV. The funds deposited by the communes and public establishments in the chest of service and in the chest of the sinking fund, or any other government chest, shall be repaid to them by bills from year to year, reckoning from the date of the present treaty, with the deduction of advances which shall have been made to them, and saving the regular claims made upon these funds by creditors of the said communes and public establishments.

low the limits of those different Cantons, and the lines separating those portions which France retains from those which she gives up.

8. In the Department of Mont Blanc, France shall obtain the Subprefecture of Chambéry (with exception of the Cantons de l'Hospital, St. Pierre d'Abigny, La Rocette and Montmelian), the Subprefecture of Annecy, with exception of that part of the Canton of Favèges, situated to the east of a line passing between Ourechaise and Marilen on the French side, and Marthod and Uging on the opposite side, and which then follows the crest of the mountains to the frontier of the Canton of Thones. This line, with the limits of the aforementioned Cantons, shall constitute the new frontier on this side.—On the side of the Pyrenees, the frontiers remain as they were between the two kingdoms of France and Spain, on the 1st of January, 1792. There shall be appointed on the part of both, a mutual Commission to arrange their final demarkation.—France renounces all claims of sovereignty, supremacy, and possession over all countries, districts, towns and places whatsoever, situated without the above stated frontier. The principality of Monaco is replaced in the same situation as on the 1st of January, 1792.—The Allied Courts assure to France the possession of the principality of Avignon, the Venaissin, the county of Montbreal, and all the inclosed districts once belonging to Germany, comprised within the above indicated frontier, which had been incorporated with France before or after the 1st of January, 1792.—The Powers preserve mutually the full right to fortify whatever point of their States they may judge fitting for their safety.—To avoid all injury to private property, and to protect on the most liberal principles the possessions of individuals domiciliated on the frontiers, there shall be named by each of the States adjoining France, Commissioners, to proceed jointly with French Commissioners, to the demarkation of their respective boundaries. So soon as the office of these Commissioners shall be completed, instruments shall be drawn up, signed by them, and posts erected to mark the mutual limits.

Art. IV. To secure the communications of the town of Geneva with the other parts of the Swiss territory on the Lake, France consents that the roads by Versoy shall be common to the two countries. The respective Governments will have an amicable understanding on the means of preventing smuggling, the regulation of the posts, and the maintenance of the roads.

Art. V. The navigation of the Rhine, from the point where it becomes navigable to the sea and back, shall be free, so as to be interdicted to no person. Principles shall be laid down at a future Congress, for the collection of the duties by the States of the Banks, in the manner most equal and favourable to the commerce of all nations. It shall be also enquired and ascertained at the same Congress, in what mode, for the purposes of more facile communication, and rendering nations continually less strangers to each other, this disposition may be extended to all rivers, that in their navigable course separate or traverse different States.

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Art. VII. The Island of Malta and its depen-

dencies shall belong, in full possession and sovereignty, to his Britannic Majesty.

Art. VIII. His Britannic Majesty, stipulating for himself and his Allies, engages to restore to his Most Christian Majesty, within periods afterwards to be fixed, the Colonies, Fisheries, Factories, and Establishments of every kind which France possessed on the 1st of January, 1792, in the seas, or on the continents of America, Africa, and Asia, with the exception, nevertheless, of the islands of Tobago, St. Lucia, and the Isle of France and its dependencies, namely Rodrigue and the Sechelles, all which his most Christian Majesty cedes in full property and sovereignty to his Britannic Majesty, as also that part of St. Domingo ceded to France by the Peace of Basle, and which his most Christian Majesty retrocedes to his Catholic Majesty, in full property and sovereignty.

Art. IX. His Majesty the King of Sweden and Norway, in consequence of arrangements entered into with his Allies, and for the execution of the preceding Article, consents that the island of Guadalupe be restored to his Most Christian Majesty, and cedes all the rights which he might have to that island.

Art. X. His most Faithful Majesty, in consequence of arrangements entered into with his Allies, engages to restore to his Most Christian Majesty, without a period hereafter fixed, French Guyana, such as it was on the 1st Jan. 1792. The effect of the above stipulation being to revive the dispute existing at that period as to limits, it is agreed that the said dispute should be terminated by an amicable arrangement, under the mediation of his Britannic Majesty.

Art. XI. The fortresses and forts existing in the colonies to be restored to his Most Christian Majesty, in virtue of Articles VIII. IX. and X. shall be given up in the state in which they shall be at the time of the signature of the present treaty.

Art. XII. His Britannic Majesty engages to cause the subjects of his Most Christian Majesty to enjoy, in regard to commerce, and the security of their persons and properties, within the limits of the British Sovereignty on the Continent of India, the same facilities, privileges, and protection, which are at present granted to the most favoured nations. On this side, his Most Christian Majesty having nothing more at heart than the perpetuity of the peace between the two Crowns of France and England, and wishing to contribute, as much as in him lies, to remove henceforward such points of contract between the two nations as might one day alter a good mutual understanding, engages not to erect any work of fortification in the establishments to be restored to him, and which are situated within the limits of British sovereignty on the Continent of India, and to place in those establishments only the number of troops necessary for the maintenance of the police.

Art. XIII. As to the French right of fishery on the grand bank of Newfoundland, on the coasts of the isle of that name and the adjacent isles, and in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, every thing shall be restored to the same footing as in 1792.

Art. XIV. The colonies, factories, and establishments to be restored to his Most Christian Majesty by his Britannic Majesty or his Allies, shall be given up, viz. those in the seas of the North, or in the seas and on the Continents of America and Africa, within three months, and those beyond the Cape of Good Hope within six months after the ratification of the present treaty.

Art. XV. The high contracting parties having reserved to themselves by the 4th Article of the Convention of April 23, the regulation in the

present Definitive Treaty of Peace, of the fate of the arsenals and vessels of war, armed and not armed, which are in maritime fortresses, surrendered by France in execution of Art. II. of the said Convention, it is agreed that the said vessels and ships of war, armed and not armed, as also the naval artillery, the naval stores, and all the materials of construction and armament, shall be divided between France and the country where the fortresses are situated, in the proportion of two-thirds to France, and one-third to the powers to whom such fortresses shall appertain. The vessels and ships which are building, and which shall not be ready for launching in six weeks after the present treaty, shall be considered as materials, and as such divided in the proportion above assigned, after being taken to pieces. Commissaries shall be mutually appointed to arrange the division, and draw up a statement thereof, and passports shall be given by the Allied Powers, to secure the return to France of the French workmen, seamen, and agents. The vessels and arsenals existing in the maritime fortresses which shall have fallen into the power of the Allies anterior to the 23d of April, are not included in the above stipulations, nor the vessels and arsenals which belonged to Holland, and in particular the Texel fleet. The French Government binds itself to withdraw, or cause to be sold, all that shall belong to it by the above stated stipulations, within the period of three months after the division has been effected. In future, the Port of Antwerp shall be solely a port of Commerce.

Art. XVI. The high contracting parties wishing to place and cause to be placed in entire oblivion the divisions which have agitated Europe, declare and promise, that in the countries restored and ceded by the present treaty, no individual of whatever class or condition shall be persecuted, harassed, or disturbed in his person or property, under any pretext, or for his attachment either to any of the contracting parties, or to Governments which have ceased to exist, or from any other cause, unless for debts contracted to individuals, or for acts posterior to the present treaty.

Art. XVII. In all the countries which may or shall change masters, as well in virtue of the present treaty, as of arrangements to be made in consequence thereof, the inhabitants, both natives and foreigners, of whatever class or condition, shall be allowed a space of six years, reckoning from the exchange of the ratifications, in order to dispose, if they think proper, of their property, whether acquired before or during the present war, and to retire to whatever country they please.

Art. XVIII. The Allied Powers, wishing to give his most Christian Majesty a new proof of their desire to cause to disappear as much as lies in their power, the consequences of the period of calamity so happily terminated by the present peace, renounce, in toto, the sums which the Government had to re-demand of France, by reason of any contracts, supplies, or advances whatsoever, made to the French Government in the different wars which have taken place since 1792. — His Most Christian Majesty, on his side, renounces every claim which he might make on the Allied Powers on similar grounds. In execution of this Article, the high contracting parties engage mutually to give up all titles, bonds, and documents relating to debts which they have reciprocally renounced.

Art. XIX. The French Government engages to cause to be liquidated and paid all sums which it shall find itself bound in duty to pay in countries beyond its territories, in virtue of contracts or other formal engagements entered into between individuals or private establishments,

and the French authorities, both, for supplies and legal obligations.

Art. XX. The High Contracting Powers, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, will appoint Commissaries to regulate and effectuate the execution of the whole of the measures contained in Articles XVIII. and XIX. These Commissaries shall employ themselves in the examination of the claims mentioned in the preceding Article, of the liquidation of the sums claimed, and of the mode which the French Government shall propose for paying them. They shall also be charged with the giving up of the titles, obligations, and documents relative to the debts which the high contracting powers mutually renounce, in such way, that the ratification of the result of their labours shall complete this reciprocal renunciation.

Art. XXI. The debts specially hypothecated in their origin on the countries which cease to belong to France, or contracted for their internal administration, shall remain a charge on these same countries. An account shall in consequence be kept for the French Government, commencing with the 22d December, 1813, of such of those debts as have been converted into inscriptions in the great book of the public debt of France. The titles of all such as have not been prepared for the inscription, nor have been yet inscribed, shall be given up to the Governments of the respective countries. Statements of all these debts shall be drawn up by a mixed commission.

Art. XXII. The French Government, on its side, shall remain charged with the repayment of the sums paid by the subjects of the above-mentioned countries into the French chests, whether under the head of cautionments, deposits, or consignments. In like manner French subjects, servants of the said countries, who have paid sums under the head of cautionments, deposits, or consignments, into their respective treasuries, shall be faithfully reimbursed.

Art. XXIII. The titulars of places subjected to cautionment, who have not the handling of the money, shall be repaid with interest, until the full payment at Paris, by fifths and annually, commencing from the date of the present Treaty. — With regard to those who are accountable, the payment shall take place, at the latest, six months after the presentation of their accounts, the case of malversation alone excepted. A copy of the last account shall be transmitted to the Government of their country to serve it for information, and as a starting point.

Art. XXIV. The judicial deposits and consignments, made into the chest of the sinking fund in execution of the law of the 28th Nivose, year 13 (18th of January 1805), and which belong to the inhabitants of the countries which France ceases to possess, shall be restored within a year, dating from the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, into the hands of the authorities of the said countries, with the exception of such deposits and consignments as French subjects are interested in; in which case, they shall remain in the chest of the sinking fund, not to be restored but on proofs resulting from the decisions of the competent authorities.

Art. XXV. The funds deposited by the communes and public establishments in the chest of service and in the chest of the sinking fund, or any other government chest, shall be repaid to them by fifths from year to year, reckoning from the date of the present treaty, with the deduction of advances which shall have been made to them, and saving the regular claims made upon these funds by creditors of the said communes and public establishments.

Art. XXVI. Dating from the 1st of January, 1814, the French Government ceases to be charged with the payment of any pension, civil, military, or ecclesiastical, pension of retirement, or half-pay, to any individual, who is no longer a French subject.

Art. XXVII. The national domains acquired for a valuable consideration by French subjects, in the ci-devant departments of Belgium, the left bank of the Rhine and of the Alps, without the ancient limits of France, are and remain guaranteed to the purchasers.

Art. XXVIII. The abolition of the droits, d'aubaine, detraction, and others of the same nature, in the countries which reciprocally stipulated it with France, or which had been antecedently annexed to it, is expressly confirmed.

Art. XXIX. The French Government engages to cause to be restored the obligations and other titles which shall have been seized in the provinces occupied by the French armies or administrations; and in cases where restitution cannot be made, these obligations and titles are and remain annihilated.

Art. XXX. The sums which shall be due for all works of public utility not yet terminated, or terminated posterior to the 31st of December, 1812, on the Rhine, and in the departments detached from France, by the present treaty, shall pass to the charge of future possessors of the territory, and shall be liquidated by the commission charged with the liquidation of the debts of the district.

Art. XXXI. All archives, charts, plans, and documents whatsoever belonging to the countries ceded, and connected with their administration, shall be faithfully restored at the same time with the countries; or, if that be impracticable, within a period not more than six months after the surrender of the said countries. This stipulation is applicable to archives, charts, and plans, which may have been carried off in countries for the moment occupied by the different armies.

Art. XXXII. Within a period of two months, all the Powers who have been engaged in both sides in the present war, shall send Plenipotentiaries to Vienna, in order to regulate, in a General Congress, the arrangements necessary for completing the dispositions of the present Treaty.

Art. XXXIII. The present Treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged within a fortnight, or sooner, if practicable.

In testimony whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

(L. S.) (Signed) The Prince of BENEVENT.

(L. S.) The Prince of METTERNICH.

(L. S.) J. P. Count STADION.

ADDITIONAL ARTICLE.

The High Contracting Parties, wishing to efface all traces of the unfortunate events which have weighed heavily on their people, have agreed explicitly to annul the effects of the Treaties of 1805 and 1809, in as far as they are not already actually annulled by the present Treaty. In consequence of this declaration, His Most Christian Majesty engages that the decrees issued against French, or reputed French subjects, being, or having been in the service of his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty, shall remain without effect, as well as the judgments which may have been passed in execution of these decrees.—The present additional Article shall have the same force and effect as if it had been inserted in the patent Treaty of this date. It shall be ratified, and the ratification shall be exchanged at the same time. In testimony whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed it, and

affixed thereto the seal of their arms. Done at Paris, this 30th May, 1814.

(L. S.) (Signed) The Prince of BENEVENT.

(L. S.) The Prince of METTERNICH.

(L. S.) Count STADION.

The same day, at the same time and place, the same Treaty of Definitive Peace was concluded—between France and Russia; between France and Great Britain; between France and Prussia; and signed, viz. The Treaty between France and Russia:

For France by M. Charles Maurice Talleyrand Perigord, Prince of Benevent (*ut supra*); and for Russia, by M. M. Count Rasoumofsky, Privy Counsellor of his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, Knight of the Orders of St. Andrew, St. Alexander Newsky, Grand Cross of that of St. Wolodimir of the 1st class; and Charles Robert Count Nesselrode, Privy Counsellor of his said Majesty, Chamberlain, Secretary of State, Knight of the Order of St. Alexander Newsky, Grand Cross of that of St. Wolodimir of the 2d class, Grand Cross of the Order of Leopold of Austria, of that of the Red Eagle of Prussia, of the Polar Star of Sweden, and of the Golden Eagle of Wurttemberg.

The Treaty between France and Great Britain:—

For France, by Charles Maurice Talleyrand Perigord, Prince of Benevent (*ut supra*); and for Great Britain, by the Right Hon. Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh, Privy Counsellor of his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Member of his Parliament, Colonel of the Regiment of Londonderry Militia, and his Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, &c.—George Gordon, Earl of Aberdeen, Viscount Formartin, Lord Haddo, Tarvis, and Kellie, &c. one of the 16 Scotch Peers, Knight of the most ancient Order of the Thistle, and his Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to his Imperial, Royal, and Apostolic Majesty; William Shaw Cathcart, Viscount Cathcart, Baron Cathcart and Greenock, Counsellor of his said Majesty, Knight of the Order of the Thistle, and of several Russian Orders, General in his Armies, and his Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to his Majesty the Emperor of Russia; and the Hon. Charles William Stewart, Knight of the most Honourable Order of the Bath, Member of his Parliament, Knight of the Prussian Orders of the Black and Red Eagle, and of many others, and his Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to his Majesty the King of Prussia.

The Treaty between France and Prussia:—

For France, by M. C. Talleyrand Perigord, Prince of Benevent, (*ut supra*).—And for Prussia by M. M. Charles Augustus Baron Hardenberg, Chancellor of State to his Majesty the King of Prussia, Knight of the Orders of the Black and Red Eagle, and of many other Orders, and Charles William Baron Humboldt, Minister of State of his said Majesty, and Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to his Imperial, Royal, and Apostolic Majesty.

With the following additional articles:—

ARTICLE ADDITIONAL TO THE TREATY WITH RUSSIA.

The Duchy of Warsaw having been under the administration of a provisional council established by Russia ever since that country was occupied by her arms, the two high contracting parties have agreed to appoint immediately a Special Com-

mission, composed on both sides of an equal number of Commissaries, who shall be charged with the examination and liquidation of their respective claims, and all the arrangements relative thereto.—The present additional article shall have the same force and effect, as if inserted verbatim in the patent treaty of this date. It shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at the same time: In testimony whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed and same, and affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris, this 30th day of May, 1814.
(L. S.) (Signed) The Prince of BENEVENT.
(L. S.) ANDREW Count RASUMOUFFSKY
(L. S.) CHAS. ROBERT Count NESSELRODE

ARTICLES ADDITIONAL TO THE TREATY WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

Article I. His Most Christian Majesty, participating without reserve in all the sentiments of his Britannic Majesty relative to a species of commerce, which is equally repugnant to the principles of natural justice, and the lights of the times in which we live, engages to unite, at a future Congress, all his efforts to those of his Britannic Majesty, in order to cause all the Powers of Christendom to proclaim the abolition of the Slave Trade, in such manner that the said trade may cease universally, as it shall cease definitively, and in all events on the part of France, within a period of five years, and that besides, pending the duration of this period, no trader in slaves shall be at liberty to import or sell them elsewhere, but in the colonies of the state to which he belongs.

Art. II. The British Government and the French Government will immediately appoint Commissaries to liquidate their respective expenses for the maintenance of prisoners of war, for the purpose of coming to an arrangement on the manner of paying off the balance which shall be found in favour of either of the two powers.

Art. III. The prisoners of war respectively shall be bound to discharge, before their departure from the place of their detention, the private debts which they may have there contracted, or at least to give satisfactory security.

Art. IV. There shall be on both sides, immediately after ratification of the present Treaty, a removal of the sequestration which, since the year 1792, may have been placed on the funds, revenues, debts, and all other effects whatever of the high contracting powers, or of their subjects.—The same Commissaries mentioned in Art. II. shall employ themselves in the examination and liquidation of the claims of his Britannic Majesty upon the French Government, for the value of property moveable or immovable unduly confiscated by the French authorities, as well as for the total or partial loss of their debts or other property, unduly detained under sequestration since the year 1792.—France engages to treat in this respect the subjects of England with the same justice that the subjects of France have experienced in England; and the English Government wishing, on its part, to concur in this new testimony that the Allied Powers have given to his most Christian Majesty of their desire to remove entirely the consequences of the epoch of misfortune, so happily terminated by the present peace, engages on its side (as soon as complete justice shall be done to its subjects,) to renounce the whole amount of the excess which may be found in its favour, relative to the maintenance of the prisoners of war, so that the ratification of the result of the labours, of the undersigned Commissioners, and which shall be adjudged to belong to the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, shall render its renunciation complete.

Art. V. The two High Contracting Powers,

desirous to establish the most amicable relations between their respective subjects, reserve to themselves a promise to come to an understanding and arrangement as soon as possible, on their commercial interests, with the intention of encouraging and augmenting the prosperity of their respective States. The present additional articles shall have the same force and validity, as if they had been inserted in those words in the treaty of this day. They shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at the same time. In faith of which the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed them, and affixed the seal of their arms.

Dated and signed as above.

ADDITIONAL ARTICLE TO THE TREATY WITH PRUSSIA.

Though the Treaty of Peace concluded at Basle the 8th of April, 1795; that of Tilsit, of the 9th July, 1807; the Convention of Paris, of the 20th September 1808; as well as all the Convention and acts whatsoever, concluded since the peace of Basle between Prussia and France, are already virtually annulled by the present Treaty, the High Contracting Powers have nevertheless thought fit to declare expressly that the said Treaties cease to be obligatory for all their articles, both patent and secret, and that they mutually renounce all right, and release themselves from all obligation which might result from them.

His Most Christian Majesty promises that the decrees issued against French subjects, or reputed Frenchmen, being or having been in the service of his Prussian Majesty, shall be of no effect, as well as the judgments which may have been passed in execution of those decrees.

The present additional Article shall have the same force and effect, as if it were inserted, word for word, in the patent Treaty of this day. It shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at the same time. In faith of which the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed it, and affixed their seals.

Dated and signed as above.

AMERICAN WAR.—But we are *at war yet*. It is the Continent only which has got peace. We have a finger in the pye in Portugal, a collation in Spain, a tid bit in Sicily, and a good thumping war with America as a standing dish.—This war promises to be to us, like the last labour of Hercules, the toughest of all. It does not appear to be very easy for us to get any foreign troops to fight for our money in that country. The distance to send horses, with their hay and straw, is pretty considerable. When I first heard of a *camp of Russians* being about to be formed in my neighbourhood, I destined them for America; but, it seems, from what I see in the newspapers, that they are merely coming as a guard to the Emperor, and are to go home in their own fleet. That the *object* of the American war is, however, become rather serious, would appear from the Report of a speech of Sir JOSEPH YORKE, in the House of Commons, Wednesday, the 1st instant, in the following words, as taken from the *Courier*:

newspaper of Thursday, the 2d instant :—
 “ Sir J. YORKE observed, that although
 “ one great enemy of this country, Bonaparte, had been *deposed*, there was *another gentleman whose deposition was also necessary to our interest*, he meant Mr. President Madison, and with a view to **THAT DEPOSITION** a considerable naval force must be kept up, especially in the Atlantic. But as to his Hon. Friend’s opinion respecting the reduction of the Navy, he wished it to be considered that a number of shipping were employed in conveying French prisoners to France, and bringing home our own countrymen. So much for the occupation of our navy on the home station :—
 “ But from the Mediterranean, for instance, several three deckers were ordered home, and he could swear, that no practicable exertion would be remitted to reduce the expence of our Naval Department.”—Now, perhaps, this report of Sir Joseph Yorke’s speech might be an erroneous Report ; but I take it word for word as I find it in the newspaper ; and if it really was delivered by Sir Joseph Yorke, it is well calculated to excite most serious and anxious thoughts on both sides of the Atlantic ; but especially on this side, where an already well-sweated purse had a prospect, as we hoped, of being spared a little in future.—Sir Joseph Yorke is one of the *Lords of the Admiralty* ; and, therefore, must have spoken, in all probability, not only with a thorough knowledge of the views of the Ministry, but with their privity and approbation ; and it is through this official channel, that we learn, that the war has for its immediate object, **THE DEPOSITION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES !**
 —Now, then, Jonathan, stand clear ; for, in case the war goes on, the *ultimate* object must be of a very serious character indeed.—I must confess, however, that I am not quite so sanguine as Sir J. Yorke appears to be as to the *success* of the enterprize. The Americans do not like taxes, and they are in the right ; but they like something still less—and that is *slavery*, to which they would, of course, be reduced, if conquered by a foreign enemy. They are a rabble of armed men, compared with our troops ; but they are *armed*, and they are *free* ; and a nation of freemen in arms were never yet subdued. Besides, the Americans are brave ; they are hardy ; they

are adroit in the use of all warlike instruments ; they possess as much courage as their assailants ; are more sober, more cool, and would be animated by a thousand motives which have no place, and can have no place, in the breasts of those who would be sent to fight against them. They must be sensible of their *fate*, if defeated in a contest upon the ground said to have been stated by Sir Joseph Yorke. So that, if the speech be correctly reported, here is certainly a hopeful job cut out for us. I am disposed to believe, however, that if nothing else would prevent a war for such an object, a representation of the state of our *purse* will have that desirable effect ; and that thus we shall, at last, once more see our country at peace with all the world. I shall not, however, be surprized if this is not the case. There are so many people who feel an interest in perpetuating war ; the mad passions of the nation have been wound up to so high a pitch ; the revenge on account of the defeat of our frigates ; the implacable, the *hereditary* hatred of some persons against the Americans ; the diabolical malice of many in this country against every people enjoying any portion of real, and not *sham* freedom ; all these together are at work in favour of a long and bloody war with America ; and, as to whether they will prevail, my fears really rather outweigh my hopes.

NEW CONSTITUTION OF FRANCE.—This important document, in which is involved the future welfare of so many millions of human beings, was submitted to the Legislative Body of France on the 4th instant. As it will form the subject of reference in future REGISTERS, I have given a copy of it here ; together with the speech of the King of France addressed to the Assembly on this interesting occasion :—

“ GENTLEMEN—When, for the first time I came into this Assembly, surrounded by the great Bodies of the State, the representatives of a nation which does not cease to lavish upon me the most affecting marks of its love, I congratulate myself in having become the dispenser of those blessings which the Divine Providence deigns to grant to my people. I have made with Austria, Russia, England, and Prussia, a peace, in which are included their Allies, that is to say, all the Princes of Christendom. The war was universal.—The reconciliation is the same. The rank which France has always held among the nations, has not been transferred to any other, and remains to it without parti-

tion. Every thing which the other States have acquired of security, equally increases hers, and consequently adds to her real power. That, therefore, which she does not retain of her conquests, ought not to be regarded as a retrenchment of her real strength. The glory of the French arms has received no stain: the monuments of their valour subsist, and the *chefs d'œuvres* of the arts will belong to us in future, by rights more stable and more sacred than those of victory. The channels of commerce, so long closed, are going to be opened. The market of France will be no longer the only one open to the productions of its soil and its industry. Those for which habit has created a want, or which are necessary to the arts which it exercises, will be supplied to her by the Colonies which she recovers. She will no longer be obliged to deprive herself of them, or to obtain them only upon ruinous terms. Our manufactures are about to flourish, our maritime cities to revive, and every thing promises that a long peace abroad, and permanent felicity at home, will be the happy fruits of the peace. A melancholy recollection, nevertheless, disturbs my joy. I was born, I flattered myself that I should remain my whole life the most faithful subject of the best of Kings, and this day I occupy his place! But, however, he is not entirely dead; he lives again in this testament which he left for the instruction of the august and unfortunate child who ought to have reigned before me. It is with eyes fixed upon this immortal work—it is penetrated with the sentiments which dictated it; it is guided by the experience, and seconded by the counsels, of several among you that have drawn up the Constitutional Charter which is now going to be read, and which is founded upon the solid bases of the prosperity of the State. My Chancellor will acquaint you in detail with my paternal intentions."

PUBLIC RIGHTS OF FRANCE.

Art. I. The French are equal before the law, whatever may be their titles and ranks.

Art. II. They contribute, without distinction, in proportion to their fortune, to the expenses of the State.

Art. III. They are all equally admissible to civil and religious employments.

Art. IV. Their liberty is equally secured: no person can be arrested or prosecuted except in cases provided by the law, and in the form which it prescribes.

Art. V. Every one professes his own religion with an equal liberty, and obtains for his worship the same protection.

Art. VI. However, the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion, is the religion of the State.

Art. VII. The Ministers of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion, and those of the other Christian religions, only, receive maintenance from the Royal Treasury.

Art. VIII. The French have a right to publish and print their opinions, conforming to the

laws intended to restrain the abuse of that liberty.

Art. IX. All kinds of property is inviolable, not excepting that which is called national, the law making no kind of difference between them.

Art. X. The State may require the sacrifice of property, on account of any public interest legally established; but with a previous indemnity.

Art. XI. All animadversions on opinions and votes given before the Restoration are forbidden. The same oblivion is enjoined the tribunals and the citizens.

Art. XII. The conscription is abolished. The mode of recruiting the land and sea forces is determined by the law.

FORMS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE KING.

Art. XIII. The person of the King is inviolable and sacred. His Ministers are responsible. To the King belongs the Executive Power.

Art. XIV. The King is the Supreme Head of the State; commands the land and sea forces; declares war; concludes treaties of peace, alliance, and commerce; appoints to all offices of public administration, and issues the regulations and ordinances necessary for the execution of the laws, and the security of the State.

Art. XV. The Legislative Power is exercised collectively by the King, the House of Peers, and the House of the Deputies of the Departments.

Art. XVI. The King proposes the Law.

Art. XVII. The proposition of the law is carried at the pleasure of the King, either to the House of Peers or to that of the Deputies, excepting laws relative to taxes, which must be first addressed to the House of Deputies.

Art. XVIII. Every law shall be discussed and voted freely by the majority of each of the two Houses.

Art. XIX. The Houses have a right to petition the King to propose a law on any subject whatever, and to point out what, in their opinion, the law ought to contain.

Art. XX. Such petitions may be presented by each of the two Houses, but not till they have been discussed in Secret Committee. It shall not be sent to the other House by that which shall have proposed it till after the space of ten days.

Art. XXI. If the proposition is adopted by the other House, it shall be submitted to the King; if it be rejected, it cannot be presented again during the same session.

Art. XXII. The King exclusively sanctions and promulgates laws.

Art. XXIII. The civil list is fixed for the whole duration of the King's reign by the first legislature assembled since the King's accession.

OF THE HOUSE OF PEERS

Art. XXIV. The House of Peers is an essential part of the legislative power.

Art. XXV. It is summoned by the King at the same time as the House of the Deputies of the Departments. The Session of the one commences, and finishes at the same time as that of the other.

Art. XXVI. Any meeting of the House of Peers held out of the time of the Session of the House of Deputies, or which shall not be ordered by the King, is illegal, and null and void.

Art. XXVII. The nomination of the Peers of France belongs to the King. Their number is not limited; he may change their dignities,

nominate them for life, or render them hereditary, at pleasure.

Art. XXVIII. The Peers are admitted into the House at 25 years of age, but have no deliberative voice till the age of 30.

Art. XXIX. The Chancellor of France presides in the House of Peers, and in his absence a Peer appointed by the King.

Art. XXX. The members of the Royal Family and Princes of the Blood are Peers in right of their birth; they take precedence immediately after the President, but have no deliberative voice till the age of 25 years.

Art. XXXI. The Princes cannot take their places in the House except by an express order from the King for each session, by a message, upon pain of all that has been done in their presence being annulled.

Art. XXXII. All the deliberations of the House of Peers are private.

Art. XXXIII. The House of Peers takes cognizance of the crimes of high treason and attempts against the safety of the State, which shall be defined by the law.

Art. XXXIV. No Peer can be apprehended but by the authority of the House, and tried by it in criminal matters.

OF THE HOUSE OF THE DEPUTIES OF THE DEPARTMENTS.

Art. XXXV. The House of Deputies shall be composed of deputies chosen by the Electoral Colleges, the organization of which shall be determined by the laws.

Art. XXXVI. Each department shall have the same number of deputies as it has hitherto had.

Art. XXXVII. The deputies shall be elected for five years, and so that one-fifth of the House shall be annually received.

Art. XXXVIII. No Deputy can be admitted into the House, unless he be 40 years old, and pay a direct contribution of 1,000 francs.

Art. XXXIX. If, however, there should not be in the Department fifty persons of the age required, paying at least 1,000 francs in direct contribution, their number shall be completed by those rated the next highest, under 1,000 francs, and these shall not be capable of offering themselves as candidates against the former.

Art. XL. The Electors who concur in the nomination of the Deputies, cannot have the right of voting unless they pay a direct contribution of 300 francs, and be at least 30 years of age.

Art. XLI. The Presidents of the Electoral Colleges shall be named by the King, and of right members of the College.

Art. XLII. One half at least of the Deputies shall be chosen from among such persons eligible as have their political residence in the Department.

Art. XLIII. The President of the House of Deputies is appointed by the King, out of a list of five Members presented by the House.

Art. XLIV. The sittings of the House are public, but the requisition of five Members is sufficient to enable it to resolve itself into a Secret Committee.

Art. XLV. The House divides itself into Committees (*bureaux*) to discuss the projets presented to it on the part of the King.

Art. XLVI. No amendment can be made in any law, unless it has been proposed in Com-

mittee by the King, and unless it has been sent to and discussed in the *bureaux*.

Art. XLVII. The House of Deputies receives all the propositions for taxes; and it is not till these propositions have been admitted, that they can be carried to the House of Peers.

Art. XLVIII. No tax can be imposed or levied unless it has been agreed to by the two Houses, and sanctioned by the King.

Art. XLIX. The land-tax is granted for a year only. The indirect taxes may be granted for several years.

Art. L. The King every year convokes the two Houses; he prorogues them, and may dissolve that of the Deputies of the Departments; but in this case, he must convoke a new one within the space of three months.

Art. LI. No personal restraint shall be laid upon any member of the House during the session, or within six weeks before and after it.

Art. LII. No member of the House can, during the session, be prosecuted or arrested for criminal matters, unless for a flagrant offence, till the House has permitted his prosecution.

Art. LIII. All petitions to either House must be presented in writing. The law forbids their being preferred in person, and at the bar.

OF THE MINISTERS

Art. LIV. The Ministers may be Members of the House of Peers or of the House of Deputies. They have, moreover, a right to admission into either House, and must be heard whenever they desire it.

Art. LV. The House of Deputies has a right to accuse the Ministers, and to impeach them before the House of Peers, which alone is competent to try them.

Art. LVI. They cannot be accused, except for high treason or peculation. Particular laws shall specify this kind of crimes, and determine the mode of proceeding in respect to them.

OF THE JUDICIAL ORDER.

Art. LVII. All justice emanates from the King; it is administered in his name by Judges, whom he nominates and appoints.

Art. LVIII. The Judges nominated by the King cannot be removed.

Art. LIX. The ordinary courts and tribunals actually existing are retained. Nothing shall be changed in them but by virtue of a law.

Art. LX. The present institution of the Judges of Commerce is preserved.

Art. LXI. The office of Justice of the Peace is likewise retained. The Justices of the Peace, though nominated by the King, are removable.

Art. LXII. No man can be taken out of the hands of his natural judges.

Art. LXIII. There cannot, of course, be created any Extraordinary Commissions and Tribunals. Under this denomination the Provosts' jurisdictions are not comprehended, if their re-establishment should be judged necessary.

Art. LXIV. The pleadings in criminal matters shall be published, unless their publicity be dangerous to good order and morals; and in this case the tribunal shall declare it by a judgment.

Art. LXV. The institution of juries is retained; the changes which a longer experience may cause to be considered necessary, cannot be effected but by a law for the purpose.

Art. LXVI. The penalty of the confiscation

of property is abolished, and cannot be re-established.

Art. LXVII. The King has the right of pardon, and that of commuting punishments.

Art. LXVIII. The civil code and the laws actually existing, not contrary to the present charter, remain in force till they shall be legally abolished.

PARTICULAR RIGHTS GUARANTEED BY THE STATE.

Art. LXIX. The military in active service, the officers and soldiers who have retired, the widows, officers and soldiers, pensioned shall retain their ranks, honours and pensions.

Art. LXX. The public debt is guaranteed; all kinds of engagements contracted by the State, with its creditors, are inviolable.

Art. LXXI. The ancient Nobility resume their titles; the new retain theirs. The King creates Nobles at pleasure; but he confers on them only ranks and honours, without any exemption from the charges and duties of society.

Art. LXXII. The Legion of Honour is maintained. The King will fix its interior regulations and decorations.

Art. LXXIII. The Colonies shall be governed by particular laws and regulations.

Art. LXXIV. The King and his successors shall swear at the ceremony of their anointment to the faithful observance of the present constitutional Charter.

TEMPORARY ARTICLES.

Art. LXXV. The Deputies of the Departments of France, who sat in the Legislative Body at the time of the last adjournment, shall continue to sit in the House of Deputies till they are replaced.

Art. LXXVI. The first renewal of one-fifth of the House of Deputies shall take place, at the latest, in the year 1816, according to the order fixed between the classes. We order that the present constitutional charter submitted to the Senate and Legislative Body, agreeably to our proclamation of the 2d of May, be forthwith sent to the House of Peers and that of the Deputies.

Given at Paris, in the year of grace

1814, and of our reign the nineteenth.

(Signed)

LOUIS.

(And underneath)

The Abbe de MONTESQUIOU.

CORN LAWS.

SIR—The increasing ferment in the public mind, and the ill directed abuse of every species of agriculturist, induce me to send you the following Comparative Statement of the situation of farmers holding farms of 400 acres in the year 1792, previous to the war with France, and the time I am now writing. May I be indulged by its early insertion, as I am not without hope that those who give attention to its contents will no longer consider the farmer unreasonable and selfish, in wishing the price of corn to be high enough to remunerate him for his present increase of expenses, and to meet with sufficient encouragement to continue its growth. It will appear also, that the landed interest

bear their full share of the burdens of their country, and if they cannot be relieved from them by diminution of taxes, inevitable ruin speedily awaits them upon any great or sudden reduction in the price of corn.

1792. *Expenditure before the War.*

Rent 10s. per acre.	- - - - -	£200
Poors Rate 2s. per pound.	- - - - -	20
Tythe 2s. 6d. per acre.	- - - - -	50
Church Rate and Surveyors	}	10
Rate 1s. per pound.		
Land Tax.	- - - - -	30

£310

1814. *Expenditure at present time.*

Rent	- - - - -	£500
Poors Rate 5s. per pound.	- - - - -	125
Tythe 5s. per acre.	- - - - -	100
Church and Surveyors Rate	}	25
1s. per pound.		
Land Tax.	- - - - -	30
Tenants Property Tax.	- - - - -	37 10s
Increased payments to Labourers.	- - - - -	208
Increase in Wheelwrights, Black-	}	80
smiths, Collar-makers and		
Repairs.	- - - - -	
Horse Tax.	- - - - -	10

£1,115 10s.

On inquiring into the cause of the advance of rents, provisions, and other necessities, it will be found to be the opinion of most of our enlightened political economists, that, in exact proportion to the weight of taxation, these articles advance in price; but no Author has so clearly and effectually illustrated this as Soame Jennings, in his *Political Disquisitions*, by the following anecdote:—"A sand-man, during the American war, raising the price of his sand, was asked the reason for his so doing—"Because of the war," replied the sand-man. His customers scolded at him for this answer, and eagerly enquired if he imported his sand from America. But, (says our Author) the sand-man was right; for the tax on leather, on hats, salt, porter, candles, and other articles necessary for his subsistence increased his weekly expenditure, and he had no other means of increasing his revenue but by advancing the price of the article in which he traded." This argument is equally applicable to every class of trader and farmer through these realms:—our list of half yearly taxes confirms the fact.—Those persons, therefore, who demand that landlords should abate their rents, begin at the wrong end of their route. As the cause of the evil is clearly pointed out to be an

overloaded taxation, there is no other remedy than a speedy diminution of that taxation, in proportion as that decreases every necessary article of life will also diminish in price. If a landlord is asked why he cannot lower his rent, he replies, because his expenditure is increased by taxation, and he will hold up to our view, those badges of slavery, the accursed tax-papers. The parson will give the same reason for not lowering his tythe, and the landholder, who thinks a free importation of corn would suddenly and inevitably ruin him, is justified in applying to Parliament to prevent the importation of corn, and a sudden and consequent reduction to the price of 1792. The farmer, like the sandman, has no means of paying his increased expenditure of 805*l.* 10*s.* a year, if a proportionate advance in the price of his corn will not enable him to do it; and presuming corn to be reduced to the price of 1792, the whole of the capital he employs on his farm (suppose 3000*l.*) will be wasted in four years by reduced prices and undiminished taxation.—Those, therefore, who clamour against agriculturists, and meet to pass inflammatory Resolutions, had better petition Parliament to keep their faith with the public, and let the Property Tax be reduced at the time specified, and that all the war taxes may immediately cease. Then may the landlord abate his rent, the parson his tythe, the labourer his wages, and the price of corn will be as cheap as the public might wish it.—It will be found upon examination that the landed interest is one of the chief sources of taxation; ruin or distress this interest, the taxes will fail, and the fundholder will be found involved in the national bankruptcy; convulsion, tumult, and anarchy, their constant accompaniments, must inevitably follow.—Of those, therefore, who petition Parliament against the Corn Bill, it may truly be said, “they know what they ask.”—There are those, however, who are of opinion that the evils I dread are only imaginary; that a free importation of corn would not reduce its price; that there are persons who hold this opinion, excites in me the utmost degree of surprise: it is no longer an affair of speculation or doubt, we have facts so recent before us, that nothing can overturn the position, that an importation of corn would reduce its price.—Is that memorable event, the death of the late Emperor of

Russia, already forgotten; when in less than a month after the news arrived, the price of corn was reduced 50*s.* per quar. or more, by the opening the trade of the Baltic. Is not the price of oats stated in our last week’s market return, sufficient to convince us of this undeniable fact, the certain and inevitable consequence, that importation lowers the price of any article imported? does not the eager and anxious look of every farmer of the kingdom at the weekly Market Herald, demonstrate the truth of this opinion? I think it does; and that the utter ruin of all agriculturists is most certain, if importation were freely allowed. The continental price of corn is such, I am assured, that importation would reduce it even below the price of 1792.—But I am calmly told, let things find their level; but in the finding this level, I feel destruction and ruin; the little account here stated, convinces me of this. There would be as much propriety in persuading the fen farmer to take down his banks and let the water find its level, and leave off interfering with the course of nature. It would only be asking him to inundate his farm, drown his cattle, and destroy his property, perhaps too his family into the bargain—a more painful sight even than this is requested of the agriculturists of this country, by the calm gentlemen who wish things to *find their level*—they only require that his innocent prattlers should surround their father, and inquire the reason why his cattle are seized, his farming stock and household furniture sold, and the earning of the industry of many years at once destroyed—the only answer to be given is to satisfy the demands of the tax-gatherer; cruel necessity: and because he wishes to avert this evil, he is to be held up to the public as avaricious, wishing to deny to the people the bounty of Heaven—to be burnt in effigy, and treated with scorn, contumely and contempt. I conclude, therefore, with requesting all those towns, counties, and districts, who mean to petition Parliament against the regulations of the Corn Laws, to state, in their Resolutions and Petitions, that an overloaded taxation puts us in eminent danger, and praying their speedy reduction. This would be acting more like reasonable beings, than abusing the agriculturists, whose industry, economy, and ingenuity, nothing can surpass.

R. F.